1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

order to employ them, if males, in their hardeſt labour, or, if females, either for wives or concubines; and ſometimes the neighbouring villages went to war for quarrels that happened among the children; or for neglecting to invite each other to their entertainments.

Their wars are carried on more by ſtratagem than bravery; for they are ſuch cowards that they will not openly attack any one unleſs forced by neceſſity: this is the more extraordinary, becauſe no people ſeem to deſpiſe life more than they do, ſelf-murther being here very frequent. Their manner of attacking is this: in the night-time they ſteal into the enemy's village, and ſurpriſe them, which may eaſily be done as they keep no watch; thus a ſmall party may deſtroy a large village, as they have nothing more to do than to ſecure the mouth of a hut, and ſuffer no body to come out, which only one can do at a time; therefore whoever firſt attempts to eſcape is knocked down, or obliged to ſubmit to be bound.

The male priſoners which they take, eſpecially if they are men of any conſequence, are treated with all manner of barbarity, ſuch as burning, hewing them to pieces, tearing their entrails out when alive, and hanging them by the feet. This has been the fate of ſeveral *Ruſſian* Coſſacks during the diſturbances of *Kamtſchatka*; and theſe barbarities are exerciſed with great ſhew of triumph and rejoicing.

Theſe private differences among themſelves were very uſeful to the Coſſacks in their conqueſt of the whole nation; for when the natives ſaw the latter attacking one village, ſo far were they from aſſiſting their countrymen, that they rejoiced at their deſtruction, not conſidering that the ſame was to be their fate next.

In their wars with the Coſſacks, they deſtroyed more by ſtratagem than by arms; for when the Coſſacks came to any village

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THE ITEL'MENS

V. V. ANTROPOVA

General Information

178 The ancient population of Kamchatka—the Itel'mens—have preserved their language and sense of ethnic identity only in a few villages of the southern part of the Tigil'skiy Rayon of the Koryak National Okrug. By language, the Itel'mens belong, together with the Chukchi and Koryaks, to the northeastern group of paleo-Asiatic peoples. The census of 1926-27 set 161 the number of Itel'mens at 814.

101 The term Itel'men means "resident," "living man." In the documents and literature of the 18th century and later, the Itel'mens were called Kamchadals.

With the exception of the residents of a few villages, the descendants of the Itel'mens have completely merged with the Russians. Officially, they are considered Russians, but the term "Kamchadals" is still used in colloquial speech. However, it is applied not only to the Russified descendants of the Itel'mens, but also to the descendants of Russian Cossacks and peasants settled in Kamchatka in the 18th century. Before the Revolution, these component elements of the Kamchadals belonged to different social classes (Russ. "sosloviya"), but in everything else the Russian-speaking Kamchadals constituted a homogeneous group.

The nearest neighbors of the Itel'mens—the reindeer Koryaks—called them by the same name as the coastal Koryaks: Nymylyn, or "village -resident." In the 18th century, the reindeer Koryaks called the Itel'mens Khonchalo, from which some students trace the origin of "Kamchatka" and "Kamchadal."

In the early 18th century, the Itel'mens were scattered virtually over the entire peninsula, from its southern tip to 58° N, interspersed in the north with the Koryaks. The largest concentration was in the valley of the Kamchatka River. At that time, a distinct group of Itel'mens, called "Near Kurilers," lived on Cape Lopatka and the first islands of the Kurile group. This group lived in direct contact with the Ainu (Kurilers) and assimilated with them to a large extent. In physical type, language and certain features of their way of life, the "Near Kurilers" were somewhat different from either the Ainu or the Itel'mens.

197 In the past, the Itel'mens were divided, according to language, into ● 619 northern, southern and western. The former consisted of Itel'mens living along the Kamchatka River and the east coast, from the village of Uka in the

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north to the Nalachevaya River in the south. The second included Itel'mens living from the Nalachevaya River to Cape Lopatka, as well as the "Near Kurilers." The third group consisted of the Itel'mens of the western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula (Sedanka-Khayryuzovo). The greatest differences were between the languages of the northern and southern groups. Of the dialects of the Itel'men language, only two have survived to our time—the Khayruyuzovo and the Sedanka, which were strongly affected by Koryak and Russian.

The question of the origin of the Itel'mens remains open. The archeological remains on the peninsula have not been studied sufficiently. They are represented by semiunderground dwellings, which hold large quantities of neolithic stone implements: arrowheads, spears, hatchets, scrapers, blubber lamps, well-made bone objects and fragments of pottery. These are very close to the Itel'men implements of the 17th and 18th centuries. Similar stone and bone objects were found by the first explorers of Kamchatka—S. Krasheninnikov (1737–1742) and G. Steller (1740–44).

The first ethnographic data about the Itel'mens were provided by V. Atlasov, who made a journey to Kamchatka from the Anadyr' Fort in 1697, with a detachment of Cossacks and Yukagirs. Atlasov followed the western coast, almost to the southern tip of the peninsula, and collected the first fur-tax from the Itel'mens. He found the Itel'mens at the height of the neolithic technique in making stone and bone implements. His "tales" (reports) abound in ethnographic materials. They provide fairly detailed descriptions of the material culture (villages, dwellings, clothing, methods of preparing food, etc.), the geographic distribution, and individual features of clan organization. Especially interesting are Atlasov's data on pottery-making, for only 40 years later, S. Krasheninnikov found no traces of this occupation among the Itel'mens.

Economy, Daily Life and Social Relations

Thanks to the remarkable work of Stepan Krasheninnikov, a participant in Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition, we have a detailed account of the material production and social order of the Itel'mens in the first half of the 18th century, when they still retained their original culture.

They were fishermen who lived in permanent settlements along rivers. Their largest concentration was in the basin of the Kamchatka River. The main fishing season was during the salmon-run, when the fish surged upstream in dense masses to spawn. They fished with nets and hooks.

Nets were woven of nettle fiber. Fish was cured, made into yukola, and pickled in pits. Fish-heads were always pickled; this was a favorite dish.

The second important occupation of the Itel'mens was hunting. Kamchatka at that time was very rich in meat and fur animals. But fur animals were also hunted primarily for meat, since there was no market for the furs. V. Atlasov reported that the Itel'mens mixed chopped sable tails with the clay when making clay utensils.

An important role in the Itel'men economy was played by sea hunting. They hunted seal, fur-seal, and sea-beaver. The southern Itel'mens also hunted whales with arrows poisoned with plant poison.

None of the northern Siberian peoples engaged as widely as the Itel'mens in gathering wild plants. Most important in their diet were the tubers of sarana (a local name for various members of the lily family), sweet grass stems, the leaves of arnica, various berries, cedar nuts, etc. Plant tubers were dug out with a special digging implement of deer horn, tied to a wooden